

Message Text

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ACTION ACDA-10

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 ISO-00 ACDE-00 ERDE-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 1305

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INFO USMISSION NATO

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AMEMBASSY LONDON

USNMR SHAPE

USCINCEUR

S E C R E T MBFR VIENNA 0564

FROM US REP MBFR

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PARM, NATO

SUBJECT: OPTION 3 - TEXT OF GUIDANCE PAPER

REF: STATE 277369 (DTG 222117Z NOV 75)

1. WE WELCOME REFTEL AND BELIEVE THAT COMPROMISE PROPOSALS
IT CONTAINS SHOULD MEET ALLIED NEEDS AND LEAD TO AGREEMENT
ON THE POSITION AND GUIDANCE PAPERS ON OPTION 3.

2. AS REGARDS GUIDANCE PAPER, IF OUR UNDERSTANDING OF THE CHANGES
CONTEMPLATED BY REFTEL AND BY STATE 276242 (DTG
211957Z NOV 75) IS CORRECT, THE RESULTING LANGUAGE OF THE
PAPER WILL CONTAIN ONE POTENTIALLY SERIOUS DIFFICULTY.

AS WE UNDERSTAND IT, THE US IS NOW INDICATING
ITS WILLINGNESS TO ACCEPT PARAGRAPH 10 OF THE GUIDANCE PAPER IN THE
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FORM ADVOCATED BY THE FRG. THE FORMULATION OF THE FIRST PART OF

PARAGRAPH 10 IS AS FOLLOWS: BEGIN QUOTE: IF, ANY ANY POINT IN THE NEGOTIATIONS AFTER THE POINTS IN PARA 5 ABOVE HAVE BEEN MADE, THE EAST ASKS FOR LIMITATIONS ON ALLIED NON-US EQUIPMENT, WHETHER GROUND AIR, OR NUCLEAR, THE ALLIED NEGOTIATORS SHOULD ANSWER THAT SUCH LIMITATIONS ARE NOT ACCEPTABLE TO THE WEST. END QUOTE.

3. THIS FORMULATION IS A CATEGORICAL ONE. IT IS APPLICABLE TO BOTH PHASE I AND PHASE II OF THE WESTERN PROPOSAL. ITS USE AS NOW FORMULATED WOULD ALMOST CERTAINLY RESULT IN EASTERN QUESTIONS ON THIS VERY POINT, THAT IS, WHETHER THE STATEMENT IS A GENERAL ONE APPLYING TO BOTH PHASES OF THE WESTERN PROGRAM, OR APPLIES ONLY TO PHASE I. IF THIS QUESTION IS ASKED, THERE IS A HIGH LIKELIHOOD THAT NON-US WESTERN DIRECT PARTICIPANTS WOULD REPLY AT LEAST BILATERALLY THAT THE ANSWER COVERED BOTH PHASES AND ALSO THAT NON-US WESTERN DIRECT PARTICIPANTS WOULD ARGUE THAT THIS WAS THE CLEAR INTENTION OF BOTH THE GUIDANCE AND POSITION PAPER (PARA 18) AND THAT THE ALLIES SHOULD OFFICIALLY RESPOND TO EASTERN QUESTIONS IN THE SAME WAY. THE FINAL PHRASE OF PARA 10 OF THE GUIDANCE PAPER REFERRING TO THE "ONLY ACCEPTABLE LIMITATIONS ON NON-US ALLIES," ENTAILS THE SAME DIFFICULTIES. IN FACT, WE ASSUME INSISTENCE OF SOME ALLIES ON INCLUSION OF THIS POINT IS DESIGNED TO GET ACROSS TO EAST IN INITIAL PRESENTATIONS THAT THE WEST WILL ACCEPT NO LIMITATIONS ON NON-US ARMAMENTS IN PHASE II AS WELL AS PHASE I.

4. WE AGREE WITH WASHINGTON AGENCIES THAT WESTERN STATEMENTS TO THE EAST ABOUT PHASE II COMMITMENTS WOULD BE UNDESIRABLE. A WESTERN RESPONSE ALONG THE LINES DESCRIBED ABOVE WOULD UNDERMINE WESTERN CHANCES OF OBTAINING EASTERN AGREEMENT NOT ONLY TO PHASING BUT IN PARTICULAR TO THE COMMON CEILING. THE WEST WILL NOT EVEN GET A SERIOUS HEARING FOR OPTION 3 IF THESE POINTS ARE MADE TO THE EAST EARLY IN THE GAME. MOREOVER, A RESPONSE ON THESE LINES WOULD BE INCONSISTENT WITH TREATMENT IN THE GUIDANCE OF THE ISSUES OF ARMAMENT REDUCTIONS IN PHASE II AND OF THE FORM OF ALLIED REDUCTION COMMITMENTS IN PHASE II. IN BOTH OF THESE CASES, THE U.S. IS UNDERTAKING INTRA-ALLIED COMMITMENTS IN THE POSITION PAPER, BUT

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IS INSISTING THAT DISCUSSION WITH THE EAST IN PHASE I NEGOTIATIONS WOULD BE PREMATURE.

5. A CHANGE IN THE PRESENT FORMULATION OF PARA 10 IS THEREFORE NECESSARY. THIS PROBLEM COULD BE HANDLED BY ADDING LANGUAGE TO THE FINAL SENTENCE OF PARA 5 IN THE LATEST US FORMULATION AS FOLLOWS: BEGIN QUOTE: IF FURTHER PRESSED CONCERNING NON-US ALLIED EQUIPMENT,

THE ALLIES SHOULD MAKE CLEAR AS APPROPRIATE THAT NON-US ALLIED EQUIPMENT IS NOT PART OF THE NATO OFFER. LIMITATIONS ON NON-US ALLIED EQUIPMENT ARE ALSO NOT PART OF THE WESTERN OFFER. THE WESTERN OFFER INCLUDES COLLECTIVE LIMITATIONS ON ALLIED GROUND AND AIR FORCE MANPOWER IN THE AREA. END QUOTE.

6. PRESENT PARA 10 OF THE GUIDANCE PAPER SHOULD THEN BE DROPPED COMPLETELY. NO CHANGE WOULD BE MADE IN THE POSITION PAPER. IF FEASIBLE, IT WOULD BE PREFERABLE TO DROP ENTIRELY BOTH THE LAST PHRASE OF PRESENT PARA 10 AS WELL AS THE LAST SENTENCE OF OUR PROPOSED ALTERNATIVE LANGUAGE, BUT WE ASSUME THIS WOULD ENCOUNTER DIFFICULTIES.

7. SECONDLY, THE FIRST SENTENCE WHICH PARAGRAPH 9 OF STATE 277369 PROPOSES TO ADD TO PARAGRAPH 3 OF THE GUIDANCE SHOULD BE CHANGED TO READ AS FOLLOWS: BEGIN QUOTE: IN RESPONSE TO EASTERN QUESTIONS AS TO EQUIPMENT REDUCTIONS IN PHASE II OR AS TO PHASE II COMMITMENTS IN GENERAL, ALLIED NEGOTIATORS SHOULD TELL THE EAST THAT THE WEST IS NOT WILLING DURING PHASE I TO DISCUSS ANY ASPECT OF COMMITMENTS TO BE UNDERTAKEN IN PHASE II. END QUOTE. THE SECOND SENTENCE WOULD FOLLOW AS NOW WRITTEN. THIS MINOR ADDITION WOULD MAKE CLEAR THAT THIS ANSWER SHOULD BE USED IN REPLY TO EASTERN QUESTIONS ABOUT ANY KIND OF COMMITMENTS TO BE UNDERTAKEN IN PHASE II BY NON-US WESTERN DIRECT PARTICIPANTS, COVERING BOTH ARMAMENT REDUCTIONS, ARMAMENT LIMITATIONS AND THE NATURE OF REDUCTION COMMITMENTS. RESOR

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